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1700--1828

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## PREFACE

In this study, Russian-Armenian Relations, 1700-1828, the Society for Armenian Studies offers a compilation of information drawn from a large number of scattered publications, many of them rare and some even unlikely sources for the history of relations between the Armenians and the Russian Empire from the time of Peter the Great until the Russian occupation of Eastern Armenia in 1828.

While this study makes no claim to completeness or originality, it serves the purpose of bringing together for the first time a large store of information not readily accessible anywhere else in a Western language. It is offered by the Society as Number Four in its Occasional Paper Series in the hope that it will serve as the starting point for further research in the many interesting by-ways of modern Armenian history which it opens up to the reader.

Robert H. Hewsen received his doctorate in Russian and Middle East history at Georgetown University in 1967, where he specialized in the study of the Caucasus under Cyril Toumanoff. Appointed Professor of History at Glassboro State College, New Jersey the same year, he has since taught Armenian history at the University of Michigan (1979), Caucasian history as Tarzian Senior Lecturer at the University of Pennsylvania (since 1980), and in 1984 served as Research Professor at the Oriental Seminar, University of Tübingen, West Germany.

Early in the sixteenth century, the Sultan of Turkey and the Shah of Iran established a modus vivendi which divided Armenia between the two. As its share, Turkey received the western two-thirds of the country while Persia retained control of the rest. This division proved unsatisfactory and caused continuous warfare between the two empires, bloody struggles which led to a revival of national consciousness among the nobility and higher clergy of Persian Armenia, the only leadership the Armenians still possessed. Aware that it could not achieve independence through its own efforts, this elite group sought aid from the Christian states of Europe. When no help came from this quarter it turned to the Russian Empire. During the century and a quarter between 1700 and 1828, the Armenian nation---clergy, nobles, merchants and common men---placed itself at the disposal of the Russian state, serving it faithfully in the belief that this would cause the Tsar to favor the establishment of an autonomous if not an independent Armenia under Russian protection. The manner in which the Russian government reacted to this opportunity forms an interesting and revealing vignette of Tsarist policy towards the many national groups which eventually fell under its sway.

At this point, we should recall that in the history of the Turco-Persian wars, Armenia was not only the chief apple of discord between the two powers but also the main battlefield in the struggle. Repeatedly invaded by the contending armies, Armenia was reduced to ruins, its towns levelled, its

people decimated, and its monasteries---the only centers of learning in the country---sacked and put to the torch.

Under such conditions, it seemed as if the Armenian nation was doomed to disappear. That this did not happen is largely due to the efforts of a very few men---scholars, patriots and clerics---who across the years, and in many lands, played their separate roles in saving their nation from extinction. This study centers upon those Armenians who turned for help towards the Russian Empire and upon their relations with the Tsarist state.

## I

Armenians had been leaving their homeland throughout the Middle Ages and as the Turks and Mongols overran the country this exodus became a wholesale emigration. Fanning northwards, Armenian refugees crossed the Caucasus and Black Sea, eventually collecting into colonies in the Crimea, Ukraine, and as far west as Poland. Armenians had early established themselves at Kiev and, though Armenian merchants attended the first fair at Nizhni-Novgorod on the upper Volga in 1366, we know they were trading there as early as the twelfth century. By the fourteenth we hear of them trading farther down river at Kazan and Bolgar. These merchants were in especially good favor with the Mongol Khans, and during the great days of the Mongol Empire traded throughout the Khanates of what are now southern Russia and Central Asia even to the court of Cathay. Armenians served in the Mongol armies as well, and when Mamai

Khan of the Golden Horde attacked Moscow in 1380 his army contained several Armenian battalions.<sup>1</sup> Less well known, however, is the fact that at least two Armenians, Andrei Serkisov and Simeon Melikov, died fighting alongside the Muscovites against the Mongols at the Battle of Kulikovo the same year.<sup>2</sup> By the end of the century Armenian merchants were trafficking regularly between Norgorod, Moscow and Nizhni Novgorod, and between Moscow and the Crimea. In 1390 Moscow was destroyed by a fire which had originated in the home of an Armenian merchant<sup>3</sup>, and by the end of the fifteenth century a permanent Armenian colony had been established there which has existed without interruption to the present day.<sup>4</sup> The Armenians at Moscow were largely settled in the Belgorod quarter<sup>5</sup>, and from the fourteenth through the seventeenth centuries were chiefly engaged in trading horses, silks and precious stones in return for pelts. The Russian chronicles tell us that the Vardapet Voskan, nuncio of the Catholicos Phillip I (1633-1655), received permission to open the first Armenian church in Russia at Astrakhan by government authorization in 1639: The first ecclesiastical contact between the Armenians and the Russian state.<sup>6</sup>

Armenians in Muscovy played more than just a commercial role, however. A certain Sarkis Ovanessov, an Armenian from the Crimea, was given a post in the Office of Ambassadors (Ministry of Foreign Affairs) as early as 1632<sup>7</sup>, and from that day to this there has never been a time when Armenians were not active in the Russian diplomatic service. Basil Daoudov

served in the Office of Ambassadors for fifty years (1654-1704) and was at various times the Muscovite ambassador to Turkey, to the Ukraine and to the Khan of the Crimea.<sup>8</sup> The painter Bogdan Saltanov, a native of Iran, decorated the Kolomensky Palace of Tsar Alexis (1645-1672) and trained many Russian pupils.<sup>9</sup> Finally, Gregory Lussikov, the Shah's ambassador to the Tsar, worked to improve the conditions governing the safety and ease of merchants travelling between Russia and Iran<sup>10</sup> in the later seventeenth century, while Hayrapet Martinov opened a tanning factory in Moscow in 1666.<sup>11</sup>

In 1659, a company of merchants at New Julfa, the Armenian suburb of Ispahan in Persia, sent a certain Khoja Zacharias with a delegation of nine to bring a throne ornamented with diamonds and rubies to Tsar Alexis Michailovich along with many other gifts, the total valued at 24,443 rubies.<sup>12</sup> These presents resulted in the conclusion of a treaty of trade between the Persian-Armenian company and the Russian government (1667): the first official commercial contact between the Armenians and the Russians and the historical starting point for Russo-Armenian economic relations.

nce established in Russia, these merchants were able to negotiate a similar treaty with Sweden (1686). Hanway tells of such merchants importing goods through Archangel and the White Sea and sending them overland to Saratov for shipment down the Volga, and of how they changed their route after the founding of St. Petersburg so that their merchandise went directly to Saratov through the new capital.<sup>13</sup> As a result of

the treaty of 1667, an Armenian Church was opened in Moscow. Although these exclusive trading privileges did not last, the Armenians were well acquainted with Russia by the turn of the eighteenth century and were enthusiastic when the Giant of the North began to take an interest in thier ancient homeland. This interest, in fact, was initated by the Armenians themselves.

## II

When the Persians mastered the eastern Armenian regions of Karabagh<sup>14</sup> and Siwnik, they found there a number of tiny principalities whose autonomy had been recognized by the Turkomans in the mid-fifteenth century. These principalities were ruled by local mountain chieftains called meliks,<sup>15</sup> who were, in many cases, descended from the old royal house of Siwnik. The Persians quickly perceived that the local Armenians were fiercely attached to both their meliks and their liberties and wisely chose to continue the autonbmous status of the milikdoms under Persian suzerainty. This policy resulted in the survival until well into the nineteenth century of five such tiny states in Karabagh and several others in Siwnik. The five principalities in Karabagh were Khachen, Giwlistan, Jraberd, Varanda and Dizak ruled, respectively, by the families of Hasan-Jalalian, Beglarian, Israelian, Shahnazarian, and Avanian, all branches of the ancient and medieval royal house of Siwnik. The most prominent of the meliks of Siwnik itself, were the Haigazians of Kāhatagh, the Tangians of Sisian,

and the Shahumian-Parsadanians of Meghri, Bekh, Tatev, and Halidzor.<sup>16</sup>

The melikdoms of Karabagh have become a legend among the Armenian people as the first rallying centers of modern Armenian nationalism, but their existence was threatened by the jealousies of neighboring Mohammedan rulers and by the suspicions of later Shahs. The melikdoms enjoyed their greatest independence <sup>in the 1720's</sup> under the Siwnid General David Beg (1674-1728), but after his death they were overrun by the Turks. Retaken by the Persians under Nadir Shah, the melikdoms of Karabagh regained their former autonomy but his short-sighted successors on the Persian throne attempted to abrogate these privileges and were in the act of doing so when civil war intervened. It was the perils of these troubled years and the sufferings of the Armenians under foreign rule that caused the meliks of Karabagh and Siwnik to turn their eyes toward the powers of the Christian World.

In 1678, Jacob IV, Supreme Catholicos of the Armenian Church (1655-1680), called together about a dozen of the leading meliks and high clergy of Armenia for a secret meeting at the monastery of Etchmiadzin. There, he proposed that the Armenian Church accept the supremacy of the Pope and place its faithful under the protection of the Western powers.<sup>17</sup> As an outcome of this meeting, a seven-man delegation was sent to Europe, headed by the Catholicos himself. This delegation stopped at Tiflis to confer with the King of Georgia, Heraclius I (1688-1703), and then proceeded to Constantinople.



There, however, Jacob died at the age of 82, and the group abandoned its project. One of its members, however, continued on to Europe alone with the idea of carrying out the plan as originally conceived. This delegate was Israel Ori, a youth of nineteen and the son of Israel Haigazian, melik of Kashatagh or Zangezour.

Ori proceeded to Venice in 1680 and three years later settled in France. There he spent twelve years during which he joined the army of Louis XIV and rose to the rank of major. Captured by the English in one of the French wars, Ori was later released, and afterwards left France to settle as a merchant at Dusseldorf in the Prussian Rhineland. There he married a German woman and sired two sons. Entering the government service he was able to lay his plans for an independent Armenia before Prince Johan Wilhelm of the Palatinate to whom he offered the Armenian crown.<sup>18</sup> The prince examined the plans and was interested enough to give Ori letters addressed to both the King of Georgia and, the meliks of Karabagh. Armed with these, he returned to Armenia in the spring of 1699.

Ori went first to the village of Angeghakot in Siwnik, the residence of Safraz Tangian, Melik of Sisian, who had been one of the lay delegates at the council held in 1678. After listening to Ori, Safraz convoked a meeting of about a dozen members of the melikal families of both Siwnik and Karabagh for the purpose of deliberating on the emancipation of Armenia. The delegates to this meeting were ready to

embrace Catholicism if this would secure their ends but dissension had already arisen on the scene, for the new Catholicos, Nahapet (1691-1705), refused to accept the Pope. The meliks then approached his deputy, Simeon IV (1675-1701), Catholicos of the Albans, a vanished Caucasian people whose church had become a sub-catholicate within the framework of the Armenian Church. Simeon also refused to cooperate with the meliks, but they were so enthusiastic with letters of the German Prince, that they decided to send Ori back to Europe with letters of their own. Accompanied by Minas Tigranian, Abbot of the Monastery of St. James of Medziran in Karabagh, Ori once more left Armenia, and after stopping in Rome to pay his respects to the Holy See, he and Tigranian went on to Germany. In Dusseldorf the delegates were warmly received by Prince Johann Wilhelm, who read their letters with interest but who sent them to Vienna to the court<sup>of</sup> his overlord the Holy Roman Emperor. The Emperor Leopold was no less interested than Prince Johann, but realized that nothing could be done without the cooperation of Russia and advised the delegates to appeal to Peter the Great.

Undaunted, the indefatigable Ori proceeded to Moscow and there, towards the end of 1701, he and Tigranian secured an interview with the dynamic Tsar: The first diplo-matic contact between the Armenians and the Russian government. Peter promised the delegates his aid and even dispatched a mission to Armenia bearing letters to the Catholicos, but his proposed expedition against Turkey and Persia was

delayed by a war with Sweden and nothing came of the project.

Disappointed, Ori returned to Vienna and then to Dusseldorf, from where in 1703 he sent a letter to Peter filled with implication for the future and including the following statement: "Now---I entrust to Your Greatness the destiny of our country, where in all the land there is only the one fortress at Yerevan. May the beneficent God grant fortune to your greatness, and strength to your armies to conquer all of this. Then we shall submit to you all Armenia and Georgia."

In 1704 Ori was back in Russia where Peter made him a colonel and sent him to the Persian court as his special envoy. Leaving Tigranian in Moscow, Ori headed for his new post with a splendid entourage of fifty men. The Persians however, acquainted with Ori's exploits, were hesitant to accept his appointment and he was not allowed to come to Ispahan until 1708. There, seeking to thwart Russian influence, the French ambassador cleverly pointed out to the Shah that the name Israel Ori was an anagram of the French words il sera Roi ("he will be king") and claimed that this Ori was plotting with the Tsar and the King of Georgia to establish himself as King of Armenia.<sup>20</sup> Ori's mission to Persia thus proved no more successful than any of his other undertakings and soon after he returned to Russia, where his death at Astrakhan in 1711 ended his curious and somewhat pathetic career.

### III

The Armenian meliks must have felt the loss of Israel Ori but went on with their plans. Imperial documents reveal

that during the reign of Peter the meliks and high clergy of Armenia were in close contact with the Russian government, and aided it in its wars against both Turkey and Iran.<sup>21</sup> Peter himself had personally addressed letters of recognition to the Armenian hierarchy and had honored the mountain princes with Russian titles. A battalion of Armenian volunteers, the Armyanski Eskvadron, was attached to Peter's army and distinguished itself in his wars. In recognition of these services, the Tsar ordered his Senate to extend its protection to the Armenians of Persia (March 2, 1711) and later (January 8, 1717) opened Russia to Armenian immigration with a guarantee of religious freedom---an extraordinary concession at that time.<sup>22</sup>

Armenians, however, had already been settling in Russia before that date. As early as April 11, 1701 Peter had ordered that Armenian merchants be furnished the means to transport their merchandise from Novgorod to Moscow, and in 1706 the Armenian Bogdan Konstantinov was authorized to participate in the Archangel Fair when other foreign merchants were denied this privilege. Peter, himself, frequently intervened in matters regarding Armenian petitions; on March 1, 1717, for example, he ordered that an authorization to depart Russia via Moscow and Archangel be granted to Ivan Pavlov, Melikset Petrov, Sarkis Avedov and other merchants. Gradually, the monopoly granted to the Armenians of Julfa was weakened as Russia accorded trading privileges to other Armenian merchants. On February 12, 1712, for example, the government agreed to

allow Armenian merchants from Georgia to traffic freely at Astrakhan, Moscow and Archangel if they brought silk into the country in the same quantities as those from Iran. Joseph Zaleev, an Armenian Muslim of Iran not affiliated with the Julfa Company, was allowed to trade in Russia upon his conversion to Greek Orthodoxy, while a certain Hercule Aghazarov, an Armenian of Holland, was granted trading privileges as well. In both cases Peter the Great personally intervened on behalf of these petitions.

When Peter was in Holland, the brothers Petros, Stepan and Abraham Abro requested permission to trade in Russia as they did in Persia, Turkey, India, and Western Europe, and Peter granted their request in the following terms:

"We...to give a greater impetus to commerce in our states, not only are we inclined to accede to this request but we are pleased to accord them our privileges, and we order to our Senate, governors, vice-governors and municipalities, to the various military and civil authorities and to administrators and functionaries to grant aid and protection to the brothers Abro, Peter, Abraham and Stepan, when they journey to our country by land or sea, by whatever roads and cities that it will please them to take, to circulate freely, they and their merchandise, without hindrance or restriction...We order to be granted whatever aids or guides which they may need to Peter Abro and his brothers and his agents so they will attract in their turn their fellow Armenians and merchants of other nationalities who wish to ship their merchandise to Persia through our country."

Eventually Armenian merchants flocked to Astrakhan from as far as Tiflis, Baku, Ganja, Erevan, Nakhichevan and Akulis in Caucasia; from Astrabad, Ardebil and Hamadan in Iran; and from the Crimea and Western Europe. One Armenian

settler, Safar Basiliev introduced sericulture into the empire, planting the first mulberry bushes on the banks of the Terek and opening the first silk factory as early as 1710.<sup>23</sup> Under Peter, a certain Lazar Kristaporian and Ivan Yuzbashi (who was actually Melik Avan II of Dizak in Karabagh) were elevated to the rank of general, the latter being placed in command of the Armenian Squadron in the war against Persia in 1722.<sup>24</sup> These two officers were the first of a long line of Russian generals of Armenian origin, a line which has continued to our own day. Minas Tigranian was also among Peter's troops in the campaign of 1722 and the new Alban Catholicos, Isaiah (1702-1728), himself led 10,000 Armenian troops from Karabagh.

The activities of Minas Tigranian in Russia are worth examining in some detail for, as we have already seen, he was a prominent figure in Armeno-Russian relations in the first third of the eighteenth century. Left in Moscow by Israel Ori in 1707, he received Ori's regular reports from Iran, which he then distilled for Russian consumption. In 1714, he presented to Peter his own plan for placing the Armenians under Russian protection and two years later, Isaiah Hasan-Jalalian, Catholicos of the Albans (1702-1728), appointed him Archbishop of all the Armenians in the Tsar's domains with his seat at Astrakhan. This not only gave Tigranian a certain prestige at the Russian court as official representative of the Armenian Church in the Russian Empire, but also status with the growing Armenian communities there for whom he was now the

primate. The establishment of the See of Astrakhan marks the beginning of formal Armenian Church organization in the Russian Empire.

Tigranian worked tirelessly among the Armenians of Transcaucasia, but failed to obtain the cooperation of the Georgians in the endeavor to liberate all the Christians of Caucasia from Muslim domination. A certain light has been cast upon his activities by the chronicle of Petros di Sarkis Gilanentz (Peter Sarkissian), an Armenian of Gilan province in Persia and an espionage agent for the Russians.<sup>25</sup> Gilanentz sent regular reports to Minas Tigranian at Astrakhan, who edited them for Peter the Great (or, rather, for his Foreign Office). Only one of these reports has survived - a letter written in the form of a chronicle covering the period from January 1722 to September of the following year - but from this little work, we can see how prominent the Armenians were in Russian intelligence work both before and during the expedition against Persia.

Peter the Great's attack on Persia began with an invasion of the Shah's holdings in North Caucasia in the summer of 1722. The Caspian port of Derbent was seized without a struggle and the Russians were soon crossing the Caucasus range, capturing Baku and laying siege to Shemakhi.<sup>26</sup> The Armenians were filled with enthusiasm for this venture and allying themselves with the King of Georgia, seized the important town of Ganja from the Turks. At the same time, the mountain chieftain David Beg led a revolt which cleared the

Muslims from Siwnik and Karabagh. All seemed to be progressing favorably when other considerations forced Peter to recall his army and to sign a treaty with Iran. The following year, 1723, the Persians ceded both Georgia and Siwnik-Karabagh to the Turks, and the Armenians were left with nothing but a renewal of Peter's offer to allow them to immigrate into his dominions and an edict, published on June 3, 1723, officially declaring that the Tsar had taken the Armenians under his protection.

The Turks and Persians now resumed their traditional warfare with renewed fury. These wars were indecisive but they exhausted the two belligerents and they left Armenia a wasteland. Thousand of Armenians fled to the more peaceful regions of western Turkey, but many more took up the Tsar's offer to settle in the Russian Empire. In 1734, the Empress Anne gave the Armenians the right to maintain churches in Russia without hindrance, an edict confirmed by Empress Elizabeth ten years later and by Catherine the Great in 1763.

#### IV

An interesting figure of this somewhat later period was Joseph Emin (1726-1809), an Armenian of Hamadan in Persia, whose family had been ruined in the Turco-Persian wars and had emigrated to Calcutta. Becoming acquainted with the British, Emin came to realize the superiority of European weapons and strategy over those of Asia and he conceived the idea of rescuing the Armenian people from their foreign masters by teaching them the new methods of warfare. In 1751, while still



a young man, Emin immigrated to England where he joined the British army to learn the art of war. Rising rapidly, he made many powerful friends, including the Duke of Cumberland and Edmund Burke, and in 1760 obtained the means to journey to Russia. There, he secured a promise of aid from Peter's daughter, the Empress Elizabeth, only to see it cut short by her death in 1761. Realizing that little help could be expected from the nations of Western Europe, Emin concentrated on creating a situation in Caucasia which would attract the attention and interest of Russia. To this end, in 1763 he presented King Heraclius II of Georgia (1762-1798) with a plan for the emancipation of Georgia and Armenia from Muslim domination. Essentially, the plan called for a joint Armeno-georgian army trained by Emin in the latest European methods, a suppression of the feudal rights of the great Georgian princes (which had led to the weakening of the Georgian state), the opening of schools to instill in the new generation the liberal ideas then current in Western Europe, and finally, an Armeno-Georgian uprising against both Ottoman Turkey and Iran. The fruit of this joint effort was to have been the formation of a Georgian-Armenian state under Russian protection with Heraclius as its king. Some of these ideas appealed to the Georgian sovereign and in 1783 he placed his nation under Russian suzerainty. But neither he nor the Armenian Catholicos Luke (1789-1799) had any taste for rebellion against Turkey or Iran.

Emin visited Armenia three times, each time conferring

with the meliks of Karabagh. He travelled the length of the country preaching sedition and revolt, and in this venture secured the full cooperation of the lesser Armenian clergy. Unfortunately, an Armenian plot prepared against the Persians shortly after this time was uncovered and the ringleaders were cast into prison, including the Alban Catholicos John XII (1763-1786). Unable to achieve anything concretely, Emin returned to India in 1776.<sup>27</sup>

Still another plan for the re-establishment of the independence of Armenia was conceived in India by a pro-Russian party which had coalesced around Agha Shahamir Sultanoumian, a wealthy Armenian merchant of Madras. This group began propaganda for the ideas of the Enlightenment and for national liberation in the 1770's, and published several books and pamphlets to gain support for its scheme. Agha Shahamir (1723-1797) was a native of New Julfa in Persia who had gone to India at an early age and had made a fortune as an importer of pearls, dried fruit and Persian rose water. After becoming a millionaire, he sent valuable presents to the King of Georgia, Heraclius II, receiving in return, for himself and his male heirs, the city of Lori and its district. This was in 1775. Eleven years later, Heraclius issued a royal edict naming Agha Shahmir and his sons princes of Georgia and sent them a coat of arms (March, 1786). In 1790, the grant of these titles and the lands that went with them, including Lori, was confirmed by Prince George, the heir to the throne.

Strongly impressed by the liberal currents entering India

from England and Western Europe. Agha Shahamir intended to use Lori as the nucleus of Armenian Republic. This republic was to pay annual tribute to the Tsar in return for Russian protection, and the Shahamirian party even drew up a constitution for it influenced, at least in part, by the constitution of the newly formed United States. Agha Shahamir died in 1797, however, and his "Southern Plan", as it was known from its origin in India, remained only a dream. Not only was it ahead of its time, but it went full against the aspirations of the meliks for the restoration of an Armenian kingdom, and it won no support either in Karabagh or St. Petersburg.<sup>28</sup> More practical hopes were focused on Russia, however, where Catherine the Great had seized the throne in 1762.

## V

War broke out between Russia and Turkey in 1768 and it suited the Russian government to stir up a revolt along the enemy's Caucasian frontier. The following year, Moses Saratov, an Armenian silk manufacturer, together with Ivan Lazarev and a certain Gregory Kampanian, submitted a plan to Catherine consisting of a preface and fourteen articles detailing the means for the freeing of Armenia and the establishment of an Armenian state. This was the so-called "Northern Plan" and manifested a distinct Pro-Russian orientation.

If Catherine did nothing actively to secure Armenian independence, she nevertheless continued the Russian policy of favoring the Armenians. In 1774 the establishment of an independent Tatar state in the Crimea became a step in the

Russian annexation of that peninsula, and in 1778 the imperial armies occupied the territory. On Easter Sunday of that year (April 23) the Russians caused to be read in the Armenian and Greek Churches of Bakhchisarai, the capital, a proclamation that all Armenians and Greeks were to prepare for immigration to Russian territory as soon as possible. Ignatius, the last Greek Metropolitan of Gothia and Caffa (1771-1786), was in accord with the Russian plan but the Armenians, both Catholics and those of the national church, protested, sending a pathetically worded petition to the helpless Tatar Khan, Shahin-Giray (1777-82, 1783):

"For 300 years we have been your servants and your subjects and we have never been troublesome. Today, they want to uproot us and remove us from here. In the name of God, of the prophet and of your ancestors, we beg you to protect us from this violence. We, your slaves, have never ceased to pray to God for your life."<sup>29</sup>

From such an appeal it is obvious that this ancient and almost completely Turkified colony did not look forward to leaving its home for resettlement in a land not especially known for religious tolerance. The Khan, however, had become a mere pawn in Russia's game with the Turks and was powerless to intervene. The Russians for their part, tried to make the emigration as painless as possible and readily accepted the five-point request that the Armenians made in connection with their departure:

1. To pay the value of their fields and immovable property.
2. To pay the value of the grain which they had been

forced to leave in the fields.

3. To pay their Tatar lords whatever the Armenians owed them.
4. To transport, at government expense, themselves and their immovable property.
5. To look after all their needs until they arrived at their destinations, to furnish them with grain upon their arrival and to support them until the next harvest.

These requests were agreed to and inscribed in a special ukase in Russian and Armenian on a parchment bearing the imperial seal, (November 4, 1779) and signed by Catherine herself. Metropolitan Ignatius organized and executed the departure of the 31,280 Greeks and Armenians involved, while the care of the immigration was confided to General Suvorov and the Governor of Azov. Six thousand carts were placed at the disposal of the Armenians. Ignatius received a gift of 3,000 rubles together with another 50,000 for the expenses of the trip, while the heads of the Armenian and Catholic communities, Peter Margos and Father Yakov, also received gifts.

The first caravan left the Crimea on the tenth of July 1778, the second on the twentieth of August and the last on the twenty-eighth of September. The town of Mariupol was founded by Catherine as a place of residence for the Greeks, and two communities were established for the Armenians of the national church: New Nakhichevan, close to Rostov-on-the-Don, and Gregoriopol on the Dneister, the two together comprising some 15,000 inhabitants. The colonists in these

new settlements were exempted from taxation for ten years and afterwards were to be taxed at a fixed rate of one percent of their annual income for merchants and two percent for artisans and other townsmen. The villagers were granted seventy-one acres per household to be taxed at five kopecs per 2.7 acres but only after the end of ten years. The newcomers were not required to serve in the Russian army, and could elect their own magistrates and other local officials, only police powers being retained by the local Russian authorities.<sup>30</sup> These colonies eventually flourished despite the original misgivings of the Armenians and by 1816 there were 4,500 Armenian families in and around New Nakhichevan alone. No separate community was established for the Armenian Catholics, they being settled for the most part in Ekaterinoslav on the Dneiper (now Dnepropetrovsk).

Why Catherine resettled the Crimean Armenians is not clear, but the results were almost all of economic value. By transplanting these people the Russian Empire gained several thousand subjects whose industry and skill in trade were a by-word and whose value to the Empire had already been appreciated and nurtured by Peter the Great. The Russian Senate had already authorized the application of the Armenian national code to the Armenians of Astrakhan in 1746 and Catherine gave the same privilege to the Armenians of New Nakhichevan. She further built the Armenians a large church in St. Petersburg and otherwise allowed them to enjoy their religious and cultural activities unoppressed.<sup>31</sup>

## VI

Catherine encouraged the idea of Armenian independence and in January 1780, as Russia prepared for a massive invasion of Caucasia under General Suvorov (whose mother was an Armenian), a meeting was held in St. Petersburg at which Suvorov sat with Archbishop Prince Joseph Argutinsky-Dolgoruky, Primate of the Armenians in Russia, and with Ivan Lazarev, a Russo-Armenian grandee, to discuss the Armenian situation. An independent Armenia was deemed feasible at this meeting and Catherine's favorite, the Amenophile Prince Gregory Potemkin, even agreed to accept the crown of the new kingdom-to-be. Shortly thereafter, his relative General Paul Potemkin, commander of the Russian troops in Caucasia, established contact through the Primate with both Catholicos Luke and meliks of Karabagh.

Catherine's conception was the establishment of two small Christian states, Armenia and Georgia, both of which would be vassals of Russia. Gregory sent Count Paul to Caucasia to win over the meliks of Karabagh and to discuss the local political situation with the Georgians. Still later, General Suvorov was sent to Astrakhan to collect intelligence on Armenia and Persia, especially on the provinces of Gilan and Shirvan. The meliks responded enthusiastically and secured the support of both their Catholicos. In 1783, they held a meeting with John XII, Catholicos of the Albans, at the monastery of Gantzasar, where they decided to accept Russian protection and to supply the Empress with Armenian troops

and other aid should her government undertake to invade Armenia.

Dissension arose, however, when the meliks of Varanda and Khachen separated themselves from the new movement and allied with a local Muslim chieftain, Panah, who had founded the fortress of Shushi in 1752 and who dreamed of ruling as Khan of all of Karabagh. Count Paul had insisted on the cooperation of both Catholicoi and of all the meliks in a proposed war for the liberation of Armenia in 1784, but this war never took place. In the spring of the following year, the three loyal meliks met again at Gantzasar with John XII and decided on a fresh appeal to Russia. The message, however, was intercepted by Ibrahim Khan, the son and successor of Panah, who had inherited his father's pretensions. Using the message as an excuse, he imprisoned all the conspirators, including John XII, whom he caused to be poisoned (1786). This was the last of the meliks' attempts to organize a revolt.

Ultimately, the meliks, themselves, sent a delegation to St. Petersburg in 1799, which, in the names of all five meliks of Karabagh, accepted the suzerainty of the Russian Empire. On its part, the Russian Empire recognized the sovereign status of the meliks in their own domains by a charter of the Emperor Paul dated 2 June 1799.<sup>32</sup>

## VII

As we have seen, Armenians had been entering the service of Russia ever since the time of Peter the Great and



under the Empress Catherine they continued to enjoy special favor. Catherine's favorite, Field Marshal Gregory Potemkin (1739-1791) was one of the leading protectors of the Armenians in Russia. Numbers of them, both princes and nobles, were attached to his service and he entrusted them with the most important missions. He had several Armenian aides-de-camp, chief among whom were Lt. Colonel Minas Lazarevich Lazarev and his nephew First Major Artemi Ivanovich Lazarev. His army moreover, contained a considerable detachment of Armenian volunteers who were placed under the command of another Armenian, Lt. Colonel Abramov.

Prince Potemkin encouraged the Armenians to settle in Russia, fostering and protecting their prosperity in every way. In particular, he omitted nothing to attract the influential Armenian clergy, and by every other means favored the installation of Armenians in Russia for the profit of the Empire and the extension of its trade and commerce in Asia. Through his powerful intercession, charters, regulations and privileges were solicited from the throne, not only for cities where the Armenians were long settled, but for their newer colonies as well.<sup>33</sup> This bestowal of favors, however, was not all one-sided. In 1779, an Armenian merchant named Safraz presented the Empress with a diamond of such size and brilliance that it was placed in the imperial scepter. A second diamond, no less beautiful, was presented to her son Tsar Paul by Prince Lazarev.<sup>34</sup> Yet, another diamond of 195 carats was sold by a certain Khoja Iohannes

Raphael an Armenian merchant of India to Prince Orlov, whom he met in Amsterdam and had induced to purchase the stone for 90,000 pounds, for the Empress, plus an annuity of 4,000 pounds.

The Armeno-Georgian Prince Joseph Argutinsky-Dolgoruky, then Archbishop of the Armenians of Georgia, played a conspicuous role during Catherine's war against Persia. Winning the confidence of her Commander-in-chief, Valerian Zubov, he was later invited to participate in the negotiations between Russia and the Ottoman Empire. He proved himself so able in this capacity that he came to the attention of both Prince Potemkin and the Empress, herself, and in time became a familiar figure at the Imperial Court.<sup>35</sup>

The most distinguished Armenians in the Russian service, however, were the various members of the Lazarev family, descendants of nobles of Armenia who had settled in Persia in 1604 and then migrated to Russia about 1723. During the second Turkish war, Ivan Lazarevich Lazarev (1735-1801) served as chargé d'affaires politiques for Prince Potemkin and was one of the directors of the transfer of the Crimean Armenians to their new homes in the Ukraine. Under Catherine this Ivan Lazarev, along with Prince Argutinsky-Dolgoruky, enjoyed particular favor and was kept in close touch with Armenian affairs at court even meriting personal reports through the intermediacy of Prince Potemkin, Prince Zubov and Count (later prince) Orlov. The Holy Roman Emperor, Joseph II, conferred the title of Baron on Lazarev in 1786, and two years later,

that of Count of the Holy Roman Empire.<sup>36</sup>

During the later years of the Empress Catherine's reign, Ivan Lazarev had the distinction to be invited frequently to Gachina, the residence of her son and heir, the free-living Grand Duke Paul. There Lazarev often stayed as a guest for several days at a time being entrusted with various private missions for the future Tsar. Lazarev's own estate, Ropcha, was in the vicinity, and Paul frequently honored him with visits of his own, bringing Lazarev back with him to Gachina where he showed him the greatest attention. Once on the throne (1796-1801) Paul Proved to be an irresponsible ruler but he continued to value Lazarev for his fidelity, and as a sign of favor made him a Minister of State and a Commander of the order of St. John of Jerusalem. Paul continued to visit Lazarev at Ropcha even after his accession to the throne, at one time bringing the Imperial Family and a host of foreign ambassadors and other dignitaries for a protracted stay. Paul was fond of Ropcha and offered to purchase the estate and all its dependencies for 500,000 rubles. Lazarev naturally accepted the offer but gave a fifth of the money to various St. Petersburg charities.

In his later years Ivan Lazarev conceived the idea of establishing an Armenian center of higher education in Moscow which would bear his name. Though he died before its inception, the project was realized by his brother, Joachim (1743-1826), who expended 200,000 rubles of his own money in addition to the interest from his brother's estate.<sup>37</sup> The Lazarev Institute

opened its doors in 1816 and though its name has been changed by the Soviets and it has lost its Armenian character, it still exists as a school of Oriental languages.

## VIII

Numerous other Armenians distinguished themselves in the service of Catherine the Great and her successors, especially on the battlefield. Peter Alexandrovich Rumiantsev attained the rank of field marshal in the Russian army under Catherine, and Lt. Colonel Sumbatov was recognized as a prince of the Empire. Still another Armenian, Colonel Kasparov, was appointed commander of the fortress of Taganrog.

In the campaigns against Napoleon, many Armenians participated, especially Major General Prince Madatov, Major General Delianov and Major General Prince Abamelik, the latter two being made Cavaliers of the Order of St. Anne, First Class. Prince Abamelik was subsequently made commander of the arsenal at Kiev and later of the one at St. Petersburg. Other Armenian officers to distinguish themselves against Bonaparte were Artemi Ioakimovich Lazarev of the Imperial Guards, who fell at Leipzig, Major General Melikov, who lost his right arm, and the brothers Delianov, both majors, one of whom fell at Vitebsk.<sup>38</sup>

Of these officers, the most distinguished was Prince Valerian Grigorievich Madatov (1782-1829). Although his exact origin is obscure, he was definitely an Armenian of Karabagh whose real name was Rostom, and the Beglarians, Meliks of Gulistan, preserved the memory of his having been a scion of

their house. Madatov not only distinguished himself in the Napoleonic campaigns but also fought on the Caucasian front where he led the detachment which occupied karabagh in 1805.<sup>39</sup>

Armenians were also quite numerous in the Russian civil service at this time. Melikov, Babik and Cristaphor Lazarev served in Moldavia and Wallachia. Nerses of Ashtarak was sent on a government mission to Bessarabia, and Yakoviev and many others managed civil affairs for the Russians in South Caucasia.<sup>40</sup> Not only were such Armenians raised to the highest ranks and entrusted with the most important business, but the Russian nobility did not disdain to intermarry with them. The grandmother of the celebrated commander of the Russian armies, Peter Ivanovich Bagration, was an Armenian and his name betrays the mixed Armeno-Georgian ancestry of his father's family.<sup>41</sup> His brother, Roman Ivanovich, was married to an Armenian, Anna Semyonova, whose sister, in turn, was married to Colonel Lissanovich, killed in the wars against the Caucasian Mountaineers. A more sinister contact between the Russians and the Armenians, however, was begun in 1799 upon the death of the Catholicos Luke I, when the Russian ambassador at Constantinople began to take an open interest in the selection of each new Supreme Pontiff of the Armenian Church.

## IX

As the eighteenth century drew to its close, Civil war and near anarchy prevailed in Persia where in 1794 the eunuch

Agha Mohammed proclaimed himself Shah. Ibrahim Khan, who had imprisoned the meliks and made himself master of Karabagh, refused to acknowledge this upstart who then invaded Karabagh in 1796, seized Shushi, and put many of its inhabitants to the sword. Anxious to secure aid of the Armenians in his campaign, Agha Mohammed promised to restore the meliks to their former dignity. The Armenians, however, still placed their hopes in the Russians and chose to support Ibrahim Khan as the weaker- and thus the lesser-of two evils. With Ibrahim Khan in power they felt it would be easier for Russia to step in and take over whereas the Tsar might hesitate to become embroiled in a war with the whole of Persia. Unfortunately for the Armenians, Agha Mohammed won without their help. Shushi fell to his forces and the eunuch Shah massacred all who had refused to accept his authority - especially among the Christians.

The Russians were keenly aware of these events and were not inclined to let such an opportunity for intervention slip by. Gregory Potemkin was dead now but his position of influence had passed to Prince Zubov, and that same year, 1805, he sent his brother Count Zubov to drive out the invaders. Led by Archbishop Prince Joseph Argutinsky-Dolgoruky, the Armenians participated en masse in this expedition and with their aid the Russians captured Derbent, Baku, Kuba, Ganja, Shemakhi and Shushi. The Persians were pushed to the south bank of the Arax and lost to Russia all of the East Caucasus and most of Azerbaidzhan, including Siwnik and Karabagh.

Eastern Armenia did not achieve independence by this campaign but it at least passed under Christian governors.<sup>42</sup>

The Russian spill over the Caucasus did not end with the occupation of eastern Caucasia. Georgia, as we have seen, had become a Russian protectorate under Catherine the Great in 1783. Under Tsar Paul, however, the kingdom was annexed in 1801. All of these conquests and annexations were confirmed by the treaty of Gulistan (1813) whereby Persia renounced, in favor of Russia, all claims to the various Caucasian khanates, including Karabagh.

The signing of this treaty prepared the way for further Russian expansion. In 1826 Abbas Mirza, the eldest son of Shah Fath Ali, incited the Muslims of South Caucasia to revolt, and invaded the ceded area with an army of 80,000 men. The Russians replied with a counter-offensive which enjoyed the full support of both the Georgians and Armenians. In the war against Persia in 1827, the Armenian archbishops, John, Simeon, Seraphim, Stephen, Karapet and especially Nerses of Ashtarak, all worked in close cooperation with the Russian commanding generals, Gudovich and Paskievich. Archbishop Nerses, Armenian Primate of Georgia and later Supreme Catholicos (1843-1857), had participated in the campaigns against Persia in 1796 and had for thirty years continued his close collaboration with the Russian authorities in Georgia. In the war of 1827, he himself led a force of 10,000 Armenian volunteers which invaded Persia with the main Russian army while Prince Madatov's regiment, composed of Russian soldiers and Armenian volunteers, was routing the Persians

at Ganja. Nerses of Ashtarak was highly decorated for his role in the Persian war as were all the prelates and officers who took part in the struggle.<sup>43</sup>

In short order the army of Abbas was defeated, Yerevan fell to General Paskievich, and the Russians crossed the Arax and took Tabriz. By the ensuing treaty of Turkmanchai (1828), Persia surrendered the khanates of Yerevan and Nakhichevan, her sole remaining possessions north of the Arax. Etchmiadzin, the Holy See of the Armenian Church, was now freed from Muslim rule but Paskievich, in his capacity as Viceroy of the Caucasus, did not approve of Armenian autonomy and the question was not even considered. Isaac Aghamalian, last hereditary melik of Yerevan and the most prominent Armenian under Persian rule, was quietly removed as head of the local Armenian community in the former khanate, being recompensed with a seat on the new municipal council.

## X

Peace with Persia was scarcely established when the Russians turned their attention to a war with the Turks and launched a campaign against their fortresses in northwest Armenia. Led again by General Paskievich, the Russian armies took Akhaltsikhe, Akhalkhalaki, Kars, Hasan-Kala and Erzerum, advancing beyond Baiburt to within eighteen miles of the coveted port of Trebizond. The Tsar's armies were equally successful on the Balkan front and were threatening Constantinople when the Western powers, fearful of the Russian successes, interceded on Turkey's behalf. By the Treaty of



Adrianople (1829), Russia was persuaded to cede back to the Turks all of her fresh conquests in Armenia save for the fortresses of Akhaltsikhe and Akhalkhalaki and the port of Poti on the Black Sea. Archbishop Gregory, Minister of State Manouk Bey Mirzian, General Madatov and Colonels Nazarov, Borisov and Arapetov took part in this war with Turkey. The Sobranie Aktov, published by the Lazarev Institute in 1838, cites no less than fifty other high-ranking Armenian officers serving with the Russian armies on the Turkish front, including such now common names as Lazarev, Loris-Melikov and Abamelik, all of whom were highly decorated.<sup>44</sup>

The Turkish Armenians had suffered long under Ottoman misrule and had naturally welcomed the invading Russians with the greatest enthusiasm. When it became known, however, that the Russians were not going to stay, they realized the compromising position in which they had placed themselves with regard to their Turkish masters and were quick to accept a Russian invitation to settle in their newly acquired territories. Some 40,000 Armenians from northern Iran had already immigrated to Russian Armenia the previous year and these were now joined by some 90,000 more from the province of Erzerum.<sup>45</sup> Led by their archbishop, Karapet, they were settled in Akhalkhalaki, Alexandropol, and the adjacent territory. The migration was hurried, with none of the safeguards provided by Catherine the Great for the Armenians of the Crimea. Nearly half of the immigrants died of exposure and want along the way.<sup>46</sup>

Altogether these two brief wars gained the Russians

over 150,000 new subjects. The Tsar found himself master of at least a fifth of Armenia and of at least a third of its population. Etchmiadzin, the Armenian Vatican, remained safely in Russian hands, and the Tsar presented the Catholicos with the coveted Order of St. Anne. At this time, Joseph-John Amir Khan, an extremely wealthy Armenian merchant of Java, offered to cede to the Tsar his entire income, amounting to 500,000 French francs annually, if he would set up an autonomous Armenian principality under Russian protection (Oct. 20, 1829). The Tsar refused.<sup>47</sup> Meanwhile, the so-called "Northern Plan" of Archbishop Argutinsky-Dolgoruky for a Russo-Armenian treaty had met the same fate as Shahmirian's "Southern Plan." Both were rejected by Russia out-of-hand.<sup>48</sup>

The story of the creation of the "Armenian Province" in South Caucasia and its subsequent liquidation; the reorganization of Armenian Church affairs according to the law code of 1836 (Polozhenie); the founding of Armavir in 1848, yet another Armenian settlement in Russia; the reduction of the meliks to the status of mere titled gentry; the suppression of the Catholicate of the Albans in 1828; the Tsarist administration in Armenia; and the important role of the Armenians in the Russian Empire after 1828 are all part of another era and beyond the scope of this study.<sup>49</sup>

In this analysis of Russian-Armenian relations, we have surveyed the aspirations of the Armenian nobility, its hopes of receiving aid from Russia, and its disappointment upon realizing that the Tsar wished merely to add their country

to his empire, and the dignity of "King of Armenia" to his titles. Even more disappointing must have been the realization that both of these events were in the eyes of the Russians only minor incidents in their far greater plan to obtain warm-water ports at the expense of Turkey and Iran. The outright annexation of Armenia has led some authors to accuse the Russians of both ingratitude and duplicity, while still others

blamed the Armenians for naivete in expecting from them anything else. However, since the politics of the nineteenth century were based upon expediency rather than altruism, it is difficult to imagine any other nation behaving differently in Russia's place. Though it may have suited the Tsar at one time to envision an autonomous Armenia, it did not seem advisable for Russia to establish such a state once it possessed enough Armenian territory to do so. It is true that an autonomous Armenia, sandwiched between Russian and two hostile Muslim empires would have been completely under Russian domination anyway, but there was always the danger that such autonomy might have elicited demands for similar status from other Russian territories; provinces like the Ukraine or Georgia, whose people would not be so dependent upon Russia as the isolated Armenians.

There is no evidence that the Tsarist government ever intended to compromise its strong, centrally controlled autocracy by distributing local authority to its subject peoples and thereby surrounding itself with a belt of semi-independent and semi-hostile border states. As for the supposed naivete

of the Armenians, their turn towards Russia grew out of desperation rather than any genuine trust. Turkey and Iran were destroying Armenia between them, and Western Europe was too remote to hear its cry. The appeal to Russia was a last resort and if it did not restore the historical Armenia, at least it saved what was left of it.

Whatever may have been the attitude of the Armenian nobility, merchants and higher clergy, the rank and file in Russian Armenia itself welcomed tsarist rule as an unmixed blessing. Living conditions under Muslim domination had been so precarious that even the stifling bureaucracy imposed by the Russians was an improvement in their lot. It is unfortunate that the Tsars were never farsighted enough to see the advantages of developing the economic potential of Armenia. Whatever educational, social, and cultural improvements the Armenians achieved under Russian rule had to be made in spite, rather than because of, imperial policy.<sup>50</sup>

1. G.B. Chahnazarian, Esquisse de L'Histoire de L'Arménie... (Paris: Meyrueis et Cie., 1856), p. 102. The earliest mention of Russian-Armenian relations comes from the Arab geographer and historian al-Yakubi, who states that during the anti-Arab rebellion of 854-55 the Armenian princes called upon the ruler of the Slavs, who at this time could only have been the prince of Kiev. The results of the appeal are unknown. (cf. Ya. Dachievtych "Les Arméniens à Kiev jusqu'à 1240" Revue des études arméniennes X Paris, 1973-74).
2. V.K. Voskanian, "Les arméniens a Moscou du XV<sup>e</sup> au XVII<sup>e</sup> siècle" Revue des études arméniennes IX (1972), p. 425.
3. Ibid.
4. Ibid.
5. Armen Khachatourian, "An Armenian Colony in Fifteenth Century Russia" The Armenian Review, VIII. 4 (Winter, 1955-56).
6. Earlier chronicles inform us that the Armenians possessed a church in Novgorod dedicated to St. Gregory the Illuminator, but this was before the unification of the Republic of Novgorod with Muscovy in 1478 (Khachatourian, ibid.) In the ornate Cathedral of St. Basil the Blessed, built by Ivan IV "The Terrible" (1533-1584) to commemorate his victory over Kazan in 1552, one of the nine chapels which compose the church is dedicated to St. Gregory (Voskanian, p. 430). By the 1660's there was an Armenian Church at Moscow dedicated to the Mother of God (ibid., p. 439).

The Catholicos Stephen V (1542-1564), visiting Poland in 1547, made a stop in Moscow but we know nothing of his activities there (ibid., p. 429).

7. Ibid., p. 434.
8. Ibid., p. 436.
9. Ibid., p. 438.
10. Ibid., p. 441.
11. Ibid., p. 439-40.
12. Chahnazarian, p. 107. This throne may be seen today in the Kremlin Museum where it is pointed out by the guides as the most valuable and beautiful of the five on exhibit.
13. Jonas Hanway, An Historical Account of the British Trade Over the Caspian Sea. (London: T. Osborn, 1762, 2 vols.). For the original treaty see The Travels of Olearius in Seventeenth Century Russia, ed. and translation by Samuel M. Baron (Stanford University, 1967).
14. Turkish name meaning "Black Garden" probably from the rich black soil of the region. Karabagh comprised the ancient Armenian province of Artsakh with a part of Siwnik and Utik, and had Shusha as its chief town. The present autonomous oblast (Province) of "Highland (Nagorny) Karabagh" is a subdivision of Soviet Azerbaidzhan. Its capital is Stepanakert (formerly Khankendi) a few miles north of Shushi.
15. A word of Semitic origin meaning simply "ruler."
16. For the meliks, cf. Raffi, Khamsayi Melikutiwnneruh; Gharabaghi Astghgetuh; Gaghtnik'n Gharabaghi (Vienna Mekhitarist Press, 1906); R.H. Hewsen. "The Meliks of Eastern Armenia," Revue des études arméniennes IX, X,

XI (Paris, 1972, 1973-74, 1975-76); T. Kh. Hagopyan, Hayastani patmakan ashkharhagrutiwn 2nd ed. (Yerevan, 1968), pp. 387-393; Apres Behnazariants, Gaghtnik' Gharabaghi (St. Petersburg, 1886). Jacque Chahan de Cirbied (i.e. of Jraberd), holder of the first Chair of Armenian Studies at the University of Paris (1813); Khachatour Abovian (1809-1848), author of the first Armenian novel; Noubar Pasha (1825-1899), Prime Minister of Egypt; and Stepan Shaumyan (1878-1918), founder of the Armenian Bolshevik Party, were all descendants of melikal houses.

17. G. Ezov, Snosheniya Petra Velikago s Armyanami Dokumenty (St. Petersburg, 1898), contains all the documents relevant to the relations between Peter the Great and the Armenian political and ecclesiastical leaders of this period. It also includes the original texts of the letters sent to the Pope.
18. For Ori's life and career cf S.A. Essefian, "The Mission of Israel Ori for the Liberation of Armenia" in Recent Studies in Modern Armenian History (Cambridge, Mass., 1972).
19. H. Thorossian, Histoire de L'Arménie et du Peuple Arménien (Paris: Imp. Alexandre, 1957), p. 118. This mission was led by one Miron Vasiliev. The letters concerned the possibility of raising a revolt in Armenia, a scheme which Catholicos Nahabed refused to have anything to do with. Simeon's successor, Isaiah, however, agreed openly to aid in an uprising and associated himself with the revolutionary meliks.

20. Aram S. Zartarian, An Outline History of the Armenian Revolutionary Movement (New York: Lraper Press, 1959), p.8.
21. Chahnazarian, p. 120.
22. Colonel Brémond, Notes Historiques et Géographiques sur L'Arménie (Cairo, 1918), p. 132.
23. For the activities of these merchants see A.A. Kufkdjian, "La Politique economique de la Russie en Orient et la commerce Arménienne au debut du XVIII siecle" Revue des études Arméniennes XI (Paris 1975-76), pp. 245-53. Transl. from Lraber (Erevan, 1973), p. 11-18. For Basiliev cf. Chahnazarian, 108.
24. Ibid., p. 115n.
25. Petros di Sarkis Gilanentz, Chronicle, transl. by G.O. Minasian (Lis<sup>b</sup>on, 1959).
26. Shemakhi, lying in Azerbaidzhan northwest of Baku, had been the residence of many Russian merchants and was the center of their trade in the Caucasus until the town was plundered early in the eighteenth century by the Lesguis, a Mohammedan mountain tribe allied with the Turks (Hanway, p. 7). This war had interesting repercussions in Turkish Armenia where, in 1722, a meeting was held on the monastery island of Lim, in Lake Ven, to plan an Armenian revolt in the surrounding region of Vaspourakan, (Nersissian, M. "The Repercussions of David Beg's Movement in Vaspourakan," in Armenian, Teghek. Armfani, No. 5 (1941), pp. 73-75).



27. In 1788 Emin was persuaded to write his memoirs which were published in London in 1792. In 1918 this autobiography was republished in Calcutta, with many annotations, by his great-great granddaughter the well-known Armenian musicologist Amy Apcar.
28. Zartarian, p. 12. After Georgia was annexed by Russia in 1801, the Russian government gave notice that if within ten years no member of the Shahmir family came forward to press its claim to Lori, the town and its adjacent lands would become the property of the government and this is what finally happened. Agha Shahmir's son Jacob established the first Armenian press in India in 1772 (c.f. Mesrobian J. Seth, Armenians in India, Calcutta 1937, pp. 587-590). One member of the Shahmirian circle was a certain Moses Bagramian, a native of Karabagh, who had originally settled in Russia. He had journeyed to Caucasia with Joseph Emin in 1762, cooperating closely with him in his efforts to launch an Armenian independence movement, and had migrated to India in 1768. Bagramian wrote a work in Armenian called A New Book called Exhortation (Madras, 1773; abridged Russ. Transl. 1786), in which he called upon Armenians to rise against Tyranny and to struggle for national liberation. Pro-Russian in orientation, Bagramian participated in the drafting of the Shahmirian Constitution for an Armenian Republic under Russian protection. (cf. A.R. Ioannisian, Iosif Emin, Yerevan, 1945; idem. Rossiya i armianskoe osvoboditel'noe

dvizhenie v 80-kh gg. XVIII Stoletiya, Yerevan, 1947).

29. Frederic Macler, Arménie et Crimée (Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1930). See also Boris Nolde, La Formation de L'Empire Russe (Paris 1952-53) 2 vols., and Alan W. Fisher, The Russian Annexation of the Crimea (Cambridge University, 1970), 100 ff.
30. Leon D. Megrian "Mikayel Nalbandyan: a Study in the Rise of Ethnic Radicalism in the 19th Century in Russia" The Armenian Review, XXVI, 3 (Boston, 1973), p. 9, quoting M. Nalbandyan. nalbandyan, Endir Erger ("Selected Works"), (Erevan, 1953), 174. The English traveller W. Eton in his A Survey of the Turkish Empire (London, 1799) offers the following valuable details concerning this migration:

While I was in the quarantine at the Russian frontier, in September 1778, there passed 75,000 Christians, obliged by the Russians to emigrate from the Crimea (35,769 males.) The Armenian women, who came from Kaffa, were more beautiful, and, I think, approached nearer that perfect form which the Grecians have left us in their statues, than the women of Tino. These people were sent to inhabit the country abandoned by the Nogai Tatars, near the west coast of the Sea of Azov (Palus Maeotis) but the winter coming on before the houses built for them were ready, a great part of them had no other shelter from the cold than what was afforded them by holes dug in the ground, covered with what they could procure: they were people who all came from comfortable homes, and the greatest part perished; seven thousand only were alive a few years ago.

The community near Rostov still exists but has long been absorbed into the growing city and has lost much of its Armenian character.

31. Macler, p. 353. This church was still open in 1961 but was closed when I visited Leningrad in 1969. In the cultural sphere, Armenian printing presses were established at St. Petersburg in 1780, at New Nakhichevan ten years later, and at Astrakhan in 1793. There had been one at Etchmiadzin since 1770 (Chahnazarian, p. 106).
32. Sobranie Aktov, I, (1866) pp. 635-636.
33. Chahnazarian (p. 109) gives the population of various Armenian colonies in Russia in 1779--Mozdok 2,000, Kizliar 4,333, Astrakhan 5,128--but does not indicate what percentage these formed of the total population. These Armenians were chiefly engaged in viticulture, the manufacture of silk and brandy, and in the construction of vessels for navigation on the Caspian Sea. There were also Armenians settled in Moscow and St. Petersburg, especially in the former, and Armenian Churches were opened in both cities in 1760. In St. Petersburg the Armenians were chiefly employed in the jewelry trade but also as shopkeepers in general. They were also to be found in great numbers as attendants in the public baths. Gregory Khojamal established the first Armenian press in Russia at St. Petersburg in 1788 (supra n. 31).
34. Chahnazarian, p. 108.
35. Sobranie Aktov III (1838) pp. 301-311 (Moscow: Lazarev Institute), Transl. in Vostan, I, No. 1, (Paris, 1948-49). A cousin of the Archbishop, Prince Moses Argutinsky-Dolgoruky, was a general in the Russian army.

36. Ibid.
37. Michael Chamitch, History of Armenia (Calcutta, 1827), II, p. 527.
38. The father of these brothers, A. Dilakian, was an Armenian of Persia who settled in Astrakhan and later in St. Petersburg. The son of the surviving brother, Count I. Delianov (1818-1897), became Minister of Education in Russia in the time of Alexander III (1881-1894). (R. Khérumian, Les Arméniens. Paris, 1943, p. 168).
39. Imperial Russian Encyclopedia, s.v. Madatov. Cf. also John F. Baddeley, The Russian Conquest of the Caucasus (London, 1908). Like Ivan Yuzbashi, Madatov, too, was recognized as a prince of the Russian Empire. He married a Russian lady, Elizabeth Sablukova, but left only three daughters Javahir, Nubar and Maka (the last two of whom married scions of the House of Melik-Shahnazarian) so that his line in Russia also died out. This information was conveyed to me by two emigre gentlemen resident in the United States, one a grandson of Nubar, the other a grandson of Maka. Madatov was not only a valiant warrior but a thoroughly Europeanized gentleman who built one of the first mansions in Tiflis and the first European home in Shushi, his native town in Karabagh.
40. Sobranie Aktov, II (1838), pp. 301-11.
41. Ibid.
42. Ibid.
43. Ibid.

44. Chahnazarian, p. 123.
45. Zartarian, p. 15.
46. Ibid.
47. Chahnazarian, p. 123n.
48. Ara Caprielian, "Attempts at Armenia's Political Liberation, 18-19<sup>th</sup> Centuries," The Armenian Review, XXVIII, No. 2 (Summer, 1975), p. 155. The best Armenian account of this period is to be found in the work of Leo (Arak'el Babakhanian), Hayots Patmutiwn III (Erevan, 1946) but see also Maghakia Ormanian, Azgapatum (Constantinople/Jerusalem 1912-1927, II; H. Harutiwnian, Israyel Ori (Erevan, 1945); M. Serobian Mer Baikeruh--Hay Azatagrutian Oughiov (Cairo, 1948). A more recent study of the later events described in this study may be found in Manoog S. Young "Armenian Liberation Activities in the Second Half of the Eighteenth Century" in Recent Studies in Modern Armenian History (Cambridge, Mass., 1972).
49. In an unpublished paper titled "The First Armenian on the Pacific Coast of North America," presented in the American Armenian International College Lecture Series, La Verne, California, October 15, 1981, W.L. Sarafian cites a certain Aleksander Artemevich Arakelov, who visited California and Alaska in 1829 on the Russian-American Company Ship, the Elena, as the ships commissioner (Korabelnyi Kommissioner). Company documents refer to Aravelov as a member of the Armenian nobility (i.e. an Armyanskii dvorianin), but nothing else is known of him. (Cf. Raymond H. Fischer, Records of the Russian-American Company, 1802, 1817-1867 (Washington, 1971), p. 159.

50 As this study goes "to press", I have been informed that the mother of Field Marshall Prince Alexander Suvorov (1729-1800), the most distinguished Russian commander of the time of Catherine the Great and Tsar Paul, was an Armenian, Avdotia, daughter of a certain Theodosius Manukov. I have been unable to verify this information.

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